

The STRUGGLE for East Timor



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The Current Situation

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unless the Indonesian troops were withdrawn immediately. Yet the Government still refused to do anything, and even abstained on the UN vote condemning Indonesian aggression.

Why does the British Government place such a high priority on its relations with Indonesia? The answer is not too difficult to discern. During the last few years, trade with Indonesia has rapidly increased; Indonesia is considered so vital that when Judith Hart, ex-Minister for Overseas Aid, planned to reduce Britain's aid commitment because of concern over Indonesia's continued incarceration of political prisoners and because of the recent massive increase in Indonesia's oil revenues the move was blocked by the Foreign Secretary and aid to Indonesia was subsequently increased.

By its inaction, the British Government has tacitly acquiesced in Indonesia's invasion of East Timor. It stands side by side with Japanese and US imperialism in their massive support and aid for the Suharto military dictatorship.

Background

Situated 520 kilometers northwest of the Australian city Darwin, East Timor has been under Portuguese colonialism since 1511. Four and a half centuries of "mission civilisatrice" have contributed virtually nothing to the 650,000 East Timorese inhabitants, except a 90% illiteracy rate and a 40% death rate among children under five. Tuberculosis and malaria, two controllable diseases, continued to victimise large segments of the population.

Until 1969, practically no native Timorese had a chance to attend school. Even today, its social service sector can boast of only three engineers, two medical doctors, one dentist and three agricultural scientists.

The East Timorese infrastructure is limited to twenty kilometers of asphalt road, an airport and an harbour. Commerce is dominated by 10,000 Chinese whose allegiance is to the Koumintang Party in Taiwan. Coffee, its main export, is largely in the hands of Portuguese plantation owners.

Prior to the Armed Forces Movement coup in Lisbon, a small group of Timorese composed mainly of clerks in the government offices and high school students regularly met informally to discuss the future of their country. They had some idea of the existence of the liberation movements in the Portuguese African colonies but had no contacts with them. One of the members of the informal groups, Jose Ramos Horta, a journalist for the government paper A Voz de Timor, had previously been exiled for a year in Mozambique. Due to be exiled a second time, Horta was saved by the Lisbon coup of April 25, 1974. Immediately the informal group organised itself into a political party called Associacao Social Democratica de Timor (ASDT), with Horta as secretary-general.

ASDT launched the first workers' strike in the history of the island, demanding and winning a 100% raise in minimum wage. On May 22, 1974, ASDT issued its first political manifesto calling for - independence, an end to colonialism, participation in the government, an end to racial discrimination and corruption, and friendly cooperation with its neighbouring countries.

Not all Timorese were, however, happy with the new

developments. Fearing the possible loss of privileges gained under Portuguese rule, the native elite of businessmen and administrators broke with ASDT to form the Uniao Democratica Timorese (UDT) to protect the status quo. Only able to maintain its position by perpetuating the existing political system or by ensuring the economy's continuing dependence on trade with Portugal, this small elite, imbued with colonial values, had been the mainstay of colonial rule. Having previously belonged to the official government Party, Accao Nacional Popular, (which sent a representative to the fascist National Assembly in Lisbon) the elite now sought to maintain itself through the political vehicle of the UDT.

UDT leadership was mainly inspired by General Spínola's book Portugal and the Future. Its political programme therefore calls for East Timor to be a part of a Federation of Portuguese-speaking states, with strong cultural and trading links with the mother country. UDT is headed by Francisco Lopez de Cruz, a well-known fascist who served in the Portuguese colonial wars in Africa. He returned to Timor as an officer in the army, later served in the colonial bureaucracy and was then appointed editor of the government paper A Voz de Timor. Vice President of the UDT, Costa Mouzinho, was the Timorese representative to the reactionary Lisbon National Assembly before the coup. For his loyalty to fascism, he was appointed mayor to the capital city, Dili. In this post, he amassed considerable wealth through corruption. Other leaders of UDT include the chief of police Maggiolo Gouveia and Joao Carrascalao, the son of one of the biggest plantation owners in Timor.

A small but equally dangerous third Party is Associacao Popular Democratica Timorense (APODETI) which aspires to achieve the total integration of Timor with Indonesia. Financed and openly supported by the Indonesian government, APODETI has no mass base whatsoever. One of its leaders, Arnaldo Arujio, spent many years in jail for collaboration with the Japanese during the Second World War.

In September 1974, ASDT decided to change the Party's name to Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor or FRETILIN). The change was brought about

by the necessity to broaden the representation of the Party to include independence forces rather than confining the movement to those who accepted social democratic politics. The Indonesian government and the Western Press subsequently joined together in chorus to label FRETILIN members communist, a convenient charge which has served as an excuse for the former to openly intervene in East Timor's fight for independence. The Western Press has not seriously analysed the legitimacy of such a charge but simply displays its usual hostility to genuine liberation movements in the Third World. FRETILIN is, of course, an anti-colonial Party, but one which was formed out of a coalition of interest among the nationalist elements within the Timorese elites. FRETILIN's main ideological influence has been social democracy. The President of the Party, Xavier do Amaral, age forty, was a former custom officer, trained in a Roman Catholic Seminary, and is the oldest member of the Central Committee. Like Horta and the Lobato brothers, they all look to the West for support, espouse mixed economy policies and consider foreign investment to play a vital role in the development of the country. To the left of the leadership group is a faction centered around Mari Alkatiri, who share the enthusiasms of the African revolution. Alkatiri looks towards Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, Machel Machel of Mozambique and Neto of MPLA for his ideological coordinates.

Within five months of its formation, FRETILIN was able to recruit 80,000 members. In the elections for village chiefs conducted by the Portuguese in June 1975, FRETILIN won 90% of the vote. Its popularity can be attributed to its having launched a literacy campaign, to its founding of village co-operatives, to its policy of land distribution, and to its nationalistic cultural programme. FRETILIN's success eroded whatever popular support UDT enjoyed. UDT rank and file started deserting the organisation in favour of FRETILIN and opportunistic considerations forced UDT to shift towards advocating a gradual process leading to independence. In January 1975, a coalition was formed between UDT and FRETILIN, for the purpose of demanding a transitional administration to pave the way for independence. Both Parties, however, retained their own respective identities.

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In April, the two Parties sent out delegations abroad. FRETILIN representatives visited Guinea-Bissau, Portugal, Angola, Tanzania and finally to Mozambique for the Independence celebration. UDT sent a delegation to Australia where they met with right-wing elements including retired General Bernard Callinan, a former adviser to the South Vietnamese dictator Ngo Dinh Diem, as well as officials of the Joint Intelligence Organisation (an Australian version of the CIA). These Australian contacts persuaded UDT to break their coalition with FRETILIN and to form an anti-communist alliance together with APODETI. Arms and other aid was promised. On their return from Australia, the UDT representatives broke with FRETILIN, and UDT started sending delegations to Indonesia, Taiwan, HongKong and other right-wing regimes in Southeast Asia in order to get their backing.

On the evening of August 10, 1975 UDT started a coup by seizing the police headquarters in Dili and Baucau, with the support of police officials under Gouveia. Several days earlier, FRETILIN had warned the Portuguese Governor, Lenos Pires, of an impending coup and of the arrest and harassment of a number of FRETILIN cadres. But Pires's sympathies were clearly with the fascist elements of the UDT. He had previously been on the staff of General Spínola when the latter was forced out of his leadership position in September 1974. To get some of the right-wing elements around Spínola out of Lisbon, Pires was sent to Timor in November, while another Spínolista, Leandro, became Governor of Macau. The whole fascist administration in both Timor and Macau were left intact by the Portuguese Armed Movement on account of the very low priority given to the two colonies.

On the day after the August coup UDT took control of Dili and Baucau. Pires, however, refused to call out the Portuguese and Timorese conscripts to disarm the UDT. UDT started arresting and liquidating FRETILIN followers in Maubisse, Same, Turiscai, Aileu, Ermera, Baucau and other villages. None of the Central Committee members of FRETILIN however, were captured. Until the last minute, FRETILIN was continuing to persuade the Portuguese to intervene and prevent open warfare. Fifteen minutes before the coup began the entire Central Committee took to the hills.

By August 15th, exasperated at the refusal of the Portuguese authorities to restore order and witness to

the support accorded by Pires to UDT, FRETILIN decided to call for armed struggle. The response to FRETILIN appeal was quick. On August 17th, the Timorese conscripts at Aileu went over to the revolutionary forces, and in the following three days troops from Maubisse and Dili joined FRETILIN. The counter-attack was launched and by 8th September the last UDT stronghold at Licacao had surrendered. The fascist coup having been crushed, the remnants of UDT leadership fled to the Indonesian side of the island. Pires retreated to the island of Atauro, 30 miles from Timor, where he issued press statements on alleged "massacres" in the island. Refusing to acknowledge defeat, Pires even tried to divert international humanitarian aid to Timor to his headquarter in Atauro in order to starve Dili.

The success achieved by FRETILIN in less than one month of military operation was only possible because of the mass support it received from the population of East Timor. Despite border incursions by Indonesia and a naval blockade of all supplies, FRETILIN has extended agricultural cooperatives and has continued its programme of mass literacy and health schemes as well as setting up the framework for a democratic government. It has stressed its desire to live in peace with its Indonesian neighbour and has denied any intention of 'disrupting regional stability.' No statements or actions made by FRETILIN could possibly be construed as posing a military threat to Indonesia.

The only possible threat to Indonesia lies in the striking contrast between FRETILIN's commitment to freedom and its programme of social and economic reform and the increasing poverty and unemployment amid corruption to be observed in Indonesia. The present military-controlled regime in Indonesia came to power after the massacre of between 500,000 to one million people in 1965 and enjoys notoriety for having one of the largest numbers of untried political prisoners in the world.

Meanwhile, the Australian government has signalled its approval of Indonesia's action whilst the multinational oil companies - particularly the British companies BP and Burmah Oil - would of course like to safeguard the island for their exploration. The CIA and its allies among the right-wing Portuguese army

officers do not want to see another loss to the 'free world.'

Throughout October and November, the Indonesian military build-up in the area continued while at the same time the Jakarta regime continued to issue transparently false denials of any intention of launching a military offensive against East Timor.

On November 28th, under the threat of full-scale invasion from Indonesia, the East Timorese declared their independence and established the People's Democratic Republic of Timor.

At 4:30 a.m. on December 7th, following the visit of President Ford and Kissinger to Jakarta, Indonesian warships and troops with helicopter support launched a full-scale attack on Dili, the capital. Latest information is that FRETILIN forces have taken to the mountains and that Indonesian forces have occupied the city after heavy bombardments leading to widespread death and injury amongst the civilian population.

The threatened invasion is now a reality. The annexation of East Timor by Indonesia or the establishment of a pro-Indonesian regime will have dire consequences for the people of East Timor who have demonstrated their will to resist. Not only will it deny the people the right to determine their own future but it will be accompanied by the brutal suppression of all progressive and pro-independence forces. The first radio broadcast made by the Indonesian army when they occupied Dili promised to 'tear out the liver' of FRETILIN President, Xavier do Amaral, and to 'eliminate all the communist soldiers of FRETILIN.' In occupying Dili, the Indonesian army massacred at least 200 people, mostly women and children.

The situation is urgent and it is vital that all possible support is given to FRETILIN and the people of East Timor. All anti-imperialist forces must rally behind the anti-colonial struggle of FRETILIN and the Timorese people. Just as the victories of the people of Mozambique and Angola weakened fascism in Portugal, the victory of the people of East Timor will also weaken fascism in Indonesia. The people of East Timor must be allowed to decide their own political future, free from any interference by the Indonesian military dictatorship.

What is FRETILIN?

A POPULAR EXPLANATORY STATEMENT

FRETILIN is the REVOLUTIONARY FRONT OF INDEPENDENT EAST TIMOR. It unites all the nationalist and anti-colonialist forces in a common cause - the authentic liberation of the people of East Timor from the colonial yoke. FRETILIN proposes to show the people of East Timor a way towards PROGRES, PEACE and FREEDOM. FRETILIN repudiates all forms of colonialism and neo-colonialism, so that the people of East Timor can be truly INDEPENDENT, FREE and PROGRESSIVE.

Why is it called a FRONT?

It is called a FRONT because it calls for UNITY of all Timorese patriots. The experience of failures of our ancestors in their struggle for liberation warns us that at the moment it is necessary that all nationalists and anti-colonialists must unite without discrimination of race, religion, political ideology, sex and social background. It is necessary to disarm all those who are trying to divide the people. Any disruption among the nationalists and anti-colonialists will only strengthen those who want to continue the exploitation of the people.

At the moment East Timor is a colony and as a colony the immediate and only objective is the struggle for national independence and liberation of the people. In a colony that is struggling for independence the existence of political parties only favours disunity, which weakens the people and strengthens the dominating power. The hour has come for NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE. Everybody must unite, all join forces in order to achieve independence and to expel from our country the colonialists.

Why is called REVOLUTIONARY?

It is REVOLUTIONARY because it seeks to modify, transform and revolutionize the old structures which were inherited from five hundred years of colonialism. This would be the authentic LIBERATION OF THE PEOPLE. Without a profound transformation which aims at the creation of new structures to serve the people of East

Timor, whatever the independence that we might achieve, we will not really be free.

Why does FRETILIN defend the INDEPENDENCE of East Timor?

INDEPENDENCE is the only way towards the PROGRESS and real DEVELOPMENT of the people of East Timor. No people will be able to realise their aspirations and defend their interests and rights if they are not masters of their own destiny. In defending the INDEPENDENCE of East Timor FRETILIN is defending an unalienable right universally recognising all people, with exception for the people of East Timor, to be INDEPENDENT.

What is the model of INDEPENDENCE that FRETILIN defends?

FRETILIN defends a real INDEPENDENCE for the people of East Timor. Thus, it can only be achieved in the following ways:-

I. Struggle Against Colonialism.

At this moment struggle against colonialism means:

- a) Replace the foreign political power (Portuguese) by another one to exercised by the people of East Timor, with the consequent transformation of the present political and administrative structures.
- b) Modify, transform and revolutionize the social and economic structures of the colonial administration.

II. Active Prevention of Neo-Colonialism.

A neo-colonial situation in East Timor means that the people will not be free to run their own affairs, even though East Timor might be an independent State. Such a situation would happen through the introduction and implementation of foreign investments. When this doesn't serve the interests of the greater majority of the people, then another form of dependency will emerge - an economic dependency.

Why does FRETILIN declare itself the ONLY LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF EAST TIMOR?

FRETILIN declares itself the only legitimate representative of the people of East Timor because:

- a) At this moment the people of East Timor are all

those anti-colonialists and nationalists who struggle for a real independent East Timor.

- b) Only FRETILIN defends the priority of:
 - 1) Agriculture to serve the people.
 - 2) Culture of the people.
 - 3) Education for the people, to serve the people.
 - 4) Health programme to serve the people.

Why does FRETILIN reject FEDERATION with Portugal?

FRETILIN defends the people and doesn't ignore that the Portuguese presence is to keep a colonial economic structure which protects the interests of a very small minority of colonialists, and is prejudiced against the greater majority of the people.

Portugal cannot sustain a neo-colonial system due to her geographical position, far from East Timor, and her characteristics of an underdeveloped country. Therefore, the small minority pursuing their strategy will not hesitate to associate with the imperialistic capitals to protect their own interests and exploit the people of East Timor. Such an alliance orientated towards enriching more and more that minority will be a continuing exploitation of the riches of the country and the people.

When the economy of a country is orientated towards exportation only, this policy will suffocate entirely the subsistent cultivation, because exportation will demand specialisation of two or three products. Completely suffocated by this policy, East Timor will depend on overseas and will be forced to import everything, including the products of first necessity. When such a situation of neo-colonialism arises the national flag and the national anthem will have very little meaning, because then we shall only be a puppet independent state.

Why does FRETILIN reject INTEGRATION IN INDONESIA?

FRETILIN believes deeply in the people of East Timor. The people of East Timor are the dynamic force of the life of the nation. Only those who don't believe in the people and their creative and transformative capacity would accept integration in Indonesia.

FRETILIN calls attention to the racism implicit in the theory of integration. Racism doesn't mean simply

rejection of a people of another colour. Racism means fundamentally the belief in the superiority of one race over another, and then justifies the domination of the latter.

FRETILIN believes that the people of East Timor can make their own history as well as the peoples of other countries who are working towards progress because they are free and independent.

FRETILIN believes that the people of East Timor have a great capacity to be the masters of their own destiny.

What is the meaning of an agricultural programme to serve the people?

The programme consists of practising diversified agriculture, i.e. varied production in order to improve the diet of the people in our struggle against hunger. Under colonial regime the agriculture is not orientated towards the people, because it is evident that the protection of a profitable agriculture orientated towards exportation, which is only viable through the specialisation of production. Such specialisation in the case of East Timor can be seen through the protection of profitable cultivations such as coffee, copra, rubber and vanilla. Consequently, it causes indifference towards other crops necessary for the diet of the people. This situation causes immediate hunger in two forms:

- a) Qualitative hunger, that is lack of varied food - only corn, only rice or only tapioca.
- b) Quantitative hunger, that is lack of the first necessity products.

During the so-called epochs of hunger, i.e. when the situation is aggravated, there is lack of everything because under colonial domination hunger is a permanent state. The little that is produced is very expensive. The same can be said about imported goods. The poor people live miserably because the agriculture is not serving the people.

Why does FRETILIN protect agriculture?

We are a country of peasants and farmers. But our people are hungry. It is imperative to feed the people. It is important that everybody can obtain enough food

to satisfy their daily hunger. Everybody must eat without fear, without hesitation, without doubt of tomorrow. Our people are hungry. This is the most crying out and painful reality. 500 years of savage exploitation of our riches caused a latent state of misery. It brought hunger and diseases. It impoverished our country and our people. It is imperative to halt the exaggerated dependency on overseas. Our people must not depend on overseas for their daily food. FRETILIN gives priority to the basic products essential for the well-being of the people. Only in a second phase will FRETILIN strive to produce for exportation.

What is the meaning of EDUCATION to serve the people?

The colonial system of education tends to alienate the youth from reality, i.e. their own social and cultural environment, in order to create feelings patriotism towards Portugal. To serve the people, education must be such that it can lead the people towards Liberation and Freedom. Education must prepare the people of East Timor to participate actively in the life of the nation.

Why does FRETILIN struggle against illiteracy?

The Liberation of the people must be total and complete. It is necessary that everybody, with no exception, participate actively in the governing of the nation. The people must be informed so that they can decide about their own way of life. The people cannot continue in ignorance, so that nobody will abuse this ignorance and exploit them. It is imperative that everybody must know exactly what they want and why. Politics cannot be a subject for a minority only. It is necessary that our people are educated so that they can claim a solution for their problems and not allow themselves to be deceived and misled. The high rate of illiteracy in our country is an obstacle to the development of the culture of our people. How can we develop our literature, our poetry, if these are the thoughts and feelings of the people but the people cannot read and write. So many values are lost because there is only word of mouth. Values pass from parents to children, but the human memory is limited and many things are lost. To build our country, to build our independence, to

build an East Timor truly Free and Independent, it is imperative that everybody, with no exception, learn to read and write. Thus FRETILIN will start a large campaign for anti-illiteracy with a system of education that truly liberates our people from 500 years of darkness.

Every Timorese will learn how to read and write. FRETILIN will explain to all the principles that defend and stimulate the critical spirit, so that everybody may participate actively in the government of the nation and in the building of a real democracy.

Why is FRETILIN concerned about hygiene?

Everybody must know the basic rules of hygiene. Everybody must know how to dress a wound. Everybody must know how to care for their children and the aged. Our education must be as complete as possible, so that we can rely upon ourselves to build a better East Timor. Everybody must know the protein value of each food product so that their diet can be varied and rich, resulting in a healthy people.

Why does FRETILIN adopt Portuguese as the official language?

In the first stage we cannot adopt officially Tetum because although our language has been spoken by our people for centuries it hasn't evolved, because we have been dominated by a colonial power. Despised and forbidden, the language couldn't accompany the evolution of the society. Many expressions don't exist. Many others exist but we are not aware of them. It is necessary that a profound study of our language should be made so that we can speak and utilise our language in the future. This is not possible at the moment. That is why we adopt a foreign language. It is easier because Portuguese is already spoken our country.

No Date.

Programme of the Revolutionary Front of East Timor

The Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor (FRETILIN) is a fore-front movement which interprets the profoundest aspirations of the people of East Timor to be free from political, cultural and economic colonisation and other forms of domination and exploitation.

FRETILIN, being the only legitimate representative of the people of East Timor, aims to develop all efforts in order to be the only valid mouthpiece in the process of de-colonisation which, to be authentic, must adhere to the following program:

I. IMMEDIATE RECOGNITION OF INDEPENDENCE DE JURE BY THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT

FRETILIN interprets independence de jure as the formal recognition that the only way for the future of East Timor is total Independence. Until this is achieved, FRETILIN will have the cooperation of the Portuguese Government to implement the program of reconstruction and development of the country. FRETILIN will discuss with the Portuguese Government the best form of this cooperation.

II. RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY

A. Basic Policies

- 1) Gradual elimination of colonial relations and structures and the active struggle against the establishment of new forms of domination and exploitation.
- 2) Creation of new political, economic and social structures which will serve the interests of the people of East Timor.
- 3) Resort to the Portuguese Government, foreign governments and international organisations to obtain economic, financial and diplomatic support for the implementation of the program of reconstruction and development.
- 4) FRETILIN reserves the right to control and orientate the implementation of this program through the existing departments, or others to be created to guarantee its fulfilment.

5) FRETILIN also reserves the right to administer independently and without interference of their funds.

B. Specific Measures

1. Economic Reconstruction:

a) Creation of social economic and technical structures.

b) Creation of co-operatives. The co-operatives will be the base of the economic and social life of East Timor. Co-operatives of production, distribution and consumption will be set up throughout the country.

c) Elimination of the excessive dependency on foreign countries. Incentives will be given to the production of goods of basic needs through diversified agriculture. Mono agriculture will be discouraged.

d) Agrarian reform. All large farms will be expropriated and returned to the people and will be used within the co-operative system. Fertile lands not under cultivation will be distributed to the people and will be utilised in co-operatives or by State enterprises.

e) Agricultural mechanisation.

f) Promotion of fishing and cattle.

g) Protection of all flora and fauna. Reafforestation and introduction of new species.

h) Development of food manufacturing industries (milk, cheese, butter, canned meats, fish and fruits) by the utilisation of national resources. Also, the utilisation of forests for timber and the manufacture of timber products, including furniture and paper. Local industry, including native handicrafts and weaving, will be encouraged. Modern industry will be promoted and geared to a rapid economic and social development.

i) Commercial exploitation will be stopped, prices controlled and a new fiscal system introduced. Control of commerce.

j) Internal commerce: Co-operatives will ensure the distribution of national and imported goods.

k) Exports will be organised through the Central Co-operative in Dili, which will receive all products

and produce from the regional co-operatives for export.

l) Imports: The Central Co-operative will handle all imports and will distribute them to the regional co-operatives.

m) Balance of Payments: Imports will be strictly controlled.

n) Introduction of a national currency.

2. Education and Culture:

a) Elimination of the colonialist educational system. This will be replaced by a system which will serve all people. At the same time, Timorese culture will be maintained, fostered and encouraged.

b) An extensive program will be initiated to eliminate illiteracy and ignorance among people of all ages.

c) A university and technical colleges will be established and scholarships awarded for study in overseas countries.

d) The Portuguese language will be retained as the official language of the country.

e) A program of research and study will be made into the Tetum language, as well as other local languages. A further aim is the fostering of literature and art of the various ethnic groups through cultural exchanges for the enrichment not only of Timorese culture as a whole, but also as a contribution to universal culture.

f) Physical education and sports will be encouraged.

g) All citizens will have free choice of religion. Native religious houses, churches, mosques and temples will be protected.

3. Health:

a) Clinics and hospitals will be established throughout the country. A mobile doctor service also to be formed to serve outlying areas.

b) Immediate steps will be taken to eradicate prevalent diseases including leprosy, TB and malaria.

c) Timorese will be encouraged to train as doctors and nurses in foreign countries. Foreign doctors will be invited to work in East Timor for varying periods of time.

- d) Children, invalids and the aged will be protected.
- e) Free medical assistance will be given to all citizens.
- f) All health services will be controlled by the State.

4. Social Justice:

- a) Gradual elimination of exploitation.
- b) Forced labour will be abolished immediately.
- c) Wages will be determined by the State on the basis of equal work, equal pay for both sexes.
- d) Women workers will be paid wages during and after pregnancy.
- e) Educational programs will be launched to help combat alcoholism, vagrancy, prostitution and gambling.
- f) Traditional institutions of justice will be preserved and protected and improved by international law.
- g) Organisations for workers, women, students and youths will be established so that every person will actively contribute to the political life of the country.

5. Internal Administration:

- a) Abolition of the colonial administrative structure.
- b) Division of the territory of East Timor into regions.
- c) The regions to be administered by representatives from both FRETILIN and the Portuguese Government. Regional committees of FRETILIN will launch the basis for a democratic administration and will ensure the implementation of the program of reconstruction and development in each region.

6. National Defence:

- a) The defence of the territories of East Timor will be guaranteed by the armed forces, which will serve the people.
- b) The armed forces will protect the rights of people.
- c) The armed forces will defend the rights of the people by securing peace and order necessary for

the implementation of this program.

d) Restructure of the armed forces

III. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. Non-alignment.
2. Good neighbour policy and non-interference.
3. Co-operation with all countries in the world.

IV. PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

FRETILIN reserves the right to decide the date of the proclamation of independence of East Timor.

A. Sovereign and Independent State

- 1) Republican, democratic, anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist Government.
- 2) General elections for a constitutional assembly through direct and secret universal suffrage.
- 3) Equality of all citizen before law.
- 4) Organisations and groups which support the annexation of the country to a foreign power will be forbidden to exercise political activities.
- 5) Protection of all citizens in foreign countries.

THE BRITISH EAST TIMOR CAMPAIGN

Condemns the armed invasion of the People's Democratic Republic of East Timor by Indonesia on December 7, 1975;

Recognises and supports the independent state of the People's Republic of East Timor, established on November 28, 1975;

Expresses its support for FRETILIN as the only political organisation with popular support within East Timor; and therefore calls upon the British Government and all governments to:

- 1) Condemn Indonesia's consistent violation of the right of the people of East Timor to decide their own political future;
- 2) Condemn the full scale armed invasion of East Timor as an act of aggression and as the initiation of a state of war;
- 3) Recognise the People's Republic of East Timor as the sole legitimate government;
- 4) Give support to FRETILIN in its attempt to defend the territorial integrity of its country;
- 5) Act within the United Nations to implement these measures.

Sponsors include-

Audrey Wise, MP

Geoff Edge, MP

Jo Richardson, MP

Stan Newens, MP

Douglas Hoyle, MP

The British Peace Committee

The Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation

The Angola Solidarity Committee

Journal of Contemporary Asia

Liberation

For further information on East Timor and the struggle of FRETILIN contact the British East Timor Campaign c/o 103 Gower Street, London WC1. Subscription to East Timor Information Sheet, £2.50 per annum. Also available, FRETILIN posters and solidarity badges.